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PART I--MANUSCRIPT DATA ON RIFIAN SOCIOPOLITICAL STRUCTURE

1. STRUCTURAL FEATURES OF RIFIAN SOCIAL ORGANIZATION: ("LECTURE ON RIFIAN CUSTOMARY LAW"), uncompleted MSS., dated December 17-18, 1935.

101 671 A) General Introduction (fragmentary):.....The Berber area of Morocco, or Blad s-Siba, is the land of custom or of customary law, as opposed to the Arab area, or Blad l-Makhzin, which is the land of the Shari'a, or of Islamic Law[1].....

181 1) Berber "virtues" (and Rifian ones) include: a) a zeal for independence; b) a spirit of association (twiza, wuzi'a, dhwara, liff[2]); c) a preference for "democratic" forms of government (councils, "oligarchical" institutions, etc.); and d) a respect for custom[3].

133 134 369 2) A slow descent from the mountains to the plain (what Blanco means here specifically is the relatively rich alluvial Plain of al-Husaima in the lowlands of the tribe of Aith Waryaghar), but without urbanization...There is an indifference to "urban nuclei", which are only visited, and not lived in, except by Europeans. The Rifian's atmosphere is his tribe, and, even more so, his village or local community.

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648 671 3) The basic French error in passing the Berber dahir of 1930 was in sending a European magistrate to supervise criminal law proceedings in Berber customary tribunals (in the Atlas Mountains only: translator's note), and this satisfied neither Berbers nor Arabs[4].

177 671 779 4) The Rifian embraced Islam and Berberized it in his "practices and superstitions" (my quotation marks: translator), as he

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

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628 "Now there is no law" was repeated in the humble dwellings perched upon the heights; and soon the Rifian mountains regained their harsh, untranquil and agitated life, the bloody phantasmagoria of vengeance spreading again over the slopes through the cries of victims and the echo of gunshots.

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134 But the instinct of self-preservation again prevailed, first with pacts like the above, allying small lineages, and afterwards with pacts which, as will be shown later, forced whole tribes into more or less long pauses, during which they took a breathing spell in their rude and savage struggle for existence, which was complicated to an extraordinary degree by a poor and ungrateful soil.

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182 The reader will appreciate the importance which the market has in Rifian society, for it is not just a simple place of weekly commerce.....

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[648] The market in Rifian society is the preferential institution, the role of which, in my opinion, has today (1939) been partly absorbed by the Office of Native Affairs[14] and by the mahkamas or tribunals where the law can be laughed at much more easily than it can be in the market, under a carob tree in full view of all, the market to which the Rifians are so addicted and about which the qudat (pl. of qadi) are so refractory, the market which is today free of all control, including that of its constituents, the most efficacious control of all.[15]

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671 That the market, among Rifians, was the temple of law, of Parliament....is proven by the fact that in all markets laws were made through pacts, referenda and proclamations; and these unfortunately lack sanction through official publication. In it public affairs of general

21. THE QANUNS OF HUNTING (RAYAH):[179]

224 619 The data which follow have been gathered principally among hunters from the tribes of the Ibuqquyen, Aith Hadhifa (Aith Waryaghar), Zarqat, Targist, Aith 'Ammarth and Aith (or Bni) Mazduki; and they can be considered as general hunting qanuns for the region.

A) Significance:

224 182 Hunting in the Rif was neither a sport nor a profession in the European manner. It was a physiological necessity, and it is still considered so today. A poor soil, accidented and dry, rendered it 134 312 difficult for the tribesmen to utilize its scarce sources of water; 262 and the consumption of meat was limited, because of the scarcity of animals (i.e. both domestic and wild) to Fridays, feast days, days on which pacts were concluded, days of illness, etc., and to market 262 days. As the Rifian is by necessity a vegetarian[180], sacrifices of 782 animals acquire the status of a rite, and they form a fundamental ceremony in the most transcendental and important acts of his life. Peace and war, pacts, births and deaths, rogations, etc., have to be 224 sealed with meat for greater solemnity and efficacy. In hunting, 782 therefore, Rifian society finds a physiological compensation in no 182 way negligible to its sober life and ancestral appetite for meat, the sacrifice in common and equitable distribution of which is subject to strict rules[181], the object of the most rigorous tradition and fiscalization in order not to squander the slender reserves, which are 000 appraised in a manner unsuspected by European minds. The European visitor who is entertained in a Rifian household is not in a position to appreciate sufficiently the hospitality which is offered to him,

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

pplied to this zone, which includes northern Morocco's highest mountains and 133
rincipal watershed.[4] Adrar[5] Tidighin, highest of the Sanhajan mountains, rises o 2,456 meters and is snow-capped during six months of the year (plate 1, *b*).

Margins of the Rif Chain

From Bab Taza northward the karstic mountains of Bani Hassan form the principal arc of the Rif chain. West of this range the highland complex consists of a series of outliers trending northwest to southeast. Several of these ridges are more than 1,000 meters in elevation, and the highest peaks, Jbil Sugna and Jbil Buhashim, exceed 1,500 meters. A line drawn from Tangier to a point about 30 kilometers east of Ksar al-Kebir marks the division between the Rif highlands and the hills and terraces of the Atlantic littoral.[6]

The eastern margin of the Rif highlands is difficult to delimit. The main arc extends to a point about halfway between Alhucemas and Melilla. Mountainous terrain is found farther to the east, but its structure and lithology are different. The Rif chain is composed almost entirely of sedimentary and metamorphic rocks. Volcanism is evident from the eastern edge of the Nkour Valley to the Algerian frontier. The largest volcanic feature is Adrar Gurugú (886 meters), a composite cone of basalt and andesite behind Melilla. A number of smaller cones dot the plains of Garet and Gal'aya, and the promontories at the bay of Alhucemas and the Melilla peninsula are formed of trachyte and andesite. A large part of Gal'aya and Garet was submerged in Tertiary time. This lowland area includes the flattish plains of recent alluvium extending inland from Nador, and hill sections formed by recent stream dissection of Tertiary and Pleistocene sediments. The small range of Ikibdhanen appears to be an anticline. This range and the Kar-Kar highland were formed prior to the period of Rifian orogeny.

The Three Coasts

Most of northern Morocco is isolated by the Rif mountains and the inhospitable Mediterranean coast. The Atlantic façade, even more hostile to maritime life, has been the country's best rampart. Since these two shores are of little value, the coast facing Gibraltar has played a preponderant role.

Straight and shelterless, the Atlantic façade is indented only by mediocre harbors and poor estuaries. A series of marine terraces, mostly of Pliocene or Miocene age, dominates the littoral from Arcila to Larache. Quaternary dunes line the coast from Larache to and beyond the old interzonal frontier. The plain of Wad Lukkus is the largest zone of alluvial soil on the Atlantic coast and the only area in northern Morocco where agriculture is almost entirely mechanized. The small coastal plain on the frontier between the former Spanish and international zones is poorly drained and swampy most of the year.

Cliffs of Cretaceous or Eocene sandstone line the Strait of Gibraltar from Cape

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 17]

[4] The best description of this area appears in the log of the excursion sponsored by the Société de Géographie du Maroc in March, 1957; see *Notes Marocaines*, 9–10 (1957), 43–46.

[5] I use the Berber *adrar* rather than the Moroccan Arabic *jbil* because this peak is in an area of Berber speech.

[6] I am omitting the pre-Rifian foothill zone, immediately south of the area shown on the maps. For a description of that zone see Maurer, *op. cit.*, and Jean Dresch, *Essai sur l'évolution du relief dans la région prérifaine* (Paris: Larose, 1933).

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

the valleys of Wad Moulouya and Wad Kert.* The Aleppo pines preserved on the Melilla peninsula tell a similar story of general destruction and rare survival. Elderly tribesmen of Ibdharsen, Aith Bu Yihyi, and Ulad Stut remember a time when great thickets of sumac covered the plains of Garet.

The evidence examined in this chapter supports the thesis, now accepted by most students of Mediterranean vegetation, that the prevalent maqui and garrigue formations are produced and maintained by man. The pattern of succession in the drier eastern sector of northern Morocco depends upon ecologic processes that are not yet thoroughly understood. The theory that this area was once wooded may or may not be sound, but there is no reason to believe that the primordial cover included a high proportion of tussock grass, zizyphus, or other animal-resistant plants. Any projection of current trends, whether in the drier or the wetter areas, suggests a large degree of change. This introduces new problems, for the inevitable result of biotic disturbance is a modification of the soil.

Erosion

The steep slopes of northern Morocco favor rapid runoff and prevent the formation of deep residual soils. Moreover, torrential rains in winter and spring follow vigorous mechanical weathering during the dry summer months. It would be hard to imagine an area more vulnerable to destructive erosion. Few slopes have an adequate plant cover, and forest now covers only about a tenth of its primordial range. In view of these natural and artificial conditions, it is not surprising that soil forms a deep and continuous mantle only in the coastal plains, and that most of the highlands are bare.

A useful point of departure is to locate areas that are virtually without soil. This is the situation in the calcareous highlands. From Jbil Musa to Ibuqquyen the horizon is dominated by a wall of bare limestone. It is possible that soil never was formed on the steepest slopes. On moderate slopes there are small and discontinuous patches of clay, but most of the calcareous zone has been stripped of fine material and only cobbles remain. Here and there are tiny mounds of soil preserved by the roots of a palmetto (pl. 11, *b*). On some slopes, particularly in the range of Jbil Kelti, lines of stone have been built up when there was enough soil to justify clearing and cultivation.

The rate of erosion in any storm depends on the force with which raindrops stir up the soil and the amount and speed of the runoff. Deforestation, particularly on steep slopes, accelerates degradation, and the combination of cutting, burning, and browsing prevents any reëstablishment of protective cover. Although the calcareous highlands were probably once covered with forests of holly oak (cf. figs. 5 and 27), today, vast areas lack even herbaceous growth. In the karstic highlands the only conspicuous plants are palmetto and spiny gorse (*Ulex parviflorus*).

Erosion is not quite so serious in the highland areas formed of schist and sandstone. Protected stands of cedar, cork, and deciduous oaks are associated with abundant litter and about eighteen inches of clay or sandy loam. But in cleared areas there is abundant evidence of loss of topsoil (pl. 10, *b*). Since it is common

* *Pistacia atlantica* has been used to stabilize slopes in Israel. G. F. Gindel, "Afforestation of the Semi-arid and Arid Areas in Palestine," *Empire Forestry Rev.*, 25 (1946), 213–221.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3
Jebala MX2

practice to allow sheep to graze on stubble, many slopes are completely bare when the first rains fall. Erosion is retarded during spring and summer when a part of the runoff is diverted into irrigation ditches, but the irrigation systems promptly disintegrate at the beginning of the rainy season, and runoff again follows the network of gullies (pl. 11, *a*).

Gullying is most severe in the hilly areas of the Rif. The basins of Wad Ghis, Wad Nkour, and Wad Kert show an intricate pattern of short, steep slopes. "Ghis" means "mud" in Arabic, and most of the mud comes from the denuded highlands. The lower course of each river is joined by deeply entrenched tributary streams cutting through old fans and terraces. In Targist, Thimsaman, and Tafarsith the best farms are on fragments of Pliocene conglomerate, isolated from one another by deep ravines. Badland topography covers most of the area between Wad Nkour and Wad Kert. This may be described as an erosion-induced hoe-culture, for slopes are so badly dissected that it is no longer possible to use plows. The desperate effort to produce grain is abandoned only when the harvest does not repay the investment in seed. Cereals are sown in gullies and on nearly vertical slopes. The Spanish learned to their dismay that hungry Rifians try to cultivate even the roadbeds. The plains of Garet and the lower Kert constitute islands of alluvium in a sea of denuded terrain. Serious erosion becomes evident as soon as one passes to older terrace and residual soils. The hills of Ikibdhanen and the volcanic eminence of Gurugú are as bare as the limestone peaks.

The pattern of gullies and rills continues into the hills of Jbala and Ghmara, but the most serious problem in these areas is sliding. The roads from Tetuán to Tangier and Shawen are blocked by slides every year. In Anjra and Fahs one is never out of sight of a slide scar. Gullying is less serious than in the eastern sector, but streams are slightly entrenched even in the rolling country south of Tangier, and the marine terraces between Arcila and Larache are cut by deep barrancas.[113]

[113] René Raynal, "Bodenerosion in Marokko," *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg*, 5 (1956–1957), 885–894.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

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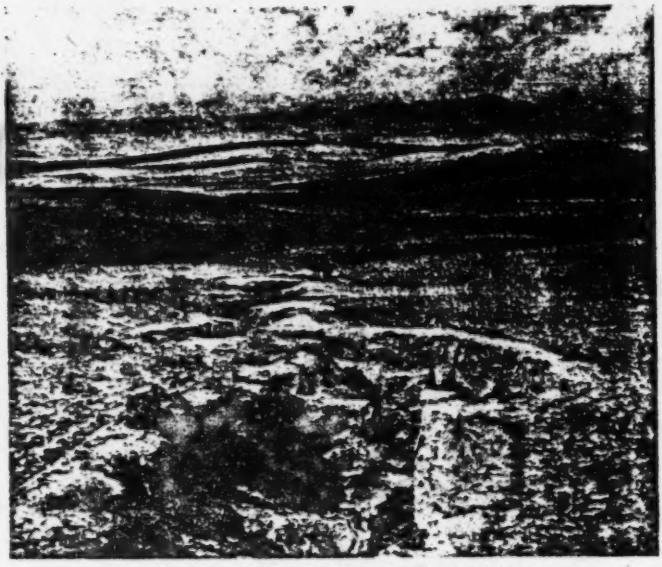

a. An active gully in the eastern Rif (Aith Said).

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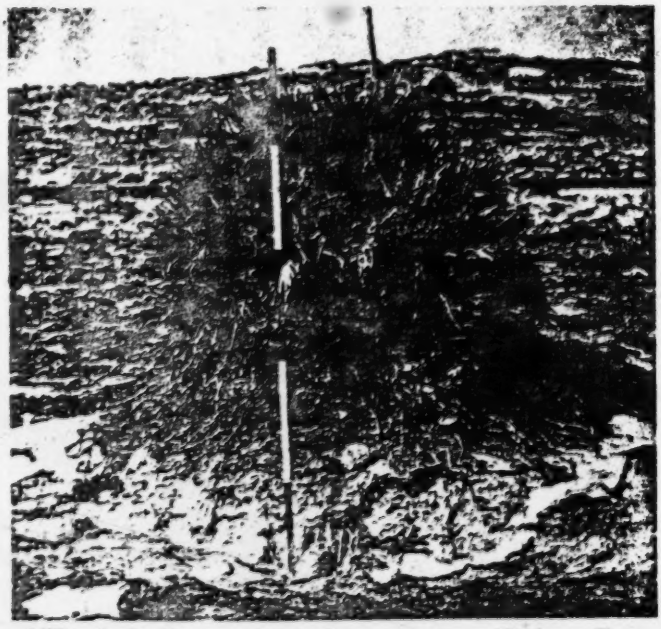

b. Mound of soil preserved by palmetto roots near Alhucemas. The remainder of the slope has been eroded down to limestone bedrock. (Each unit of scale is equal to one foot.)